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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1911.

**THE GLASGOW LETTER.**

Following a custom more honored in the breach than in the observance, The Times-Dispatch has for many years refrained from giving advice or taking sides in primaries or contests within the party.

In the gubernatorial campaign between Montague and Swanson in 1901 and later in the three-cornered fight between Swanson, Mann and Willard, this paper studiously avoided all semblance of favoritism, and likewise in the Senatorial campaign between Martin and Montague in 1905. The Times-Dispatch contented itself with printing the news fully and fairly. After that battle had been fought out, we said that one great and lasting benefit of the primary system was the fact that the issue between Senator Martin and Governor Montague carried with it the certainty that Mr. Martin was the choice of the majority of the people of this State.

In the Tucker-Mann struggle the same policy of non-interference was followed, and but for unforeseen and unforeseeable contingencies, The Times-Dispatch would have expressed no opinion in this campaign favorable or unfavorable to the candidates.

When in the course of publishing the legitimate news of the day we were brought face to face with the charge that Mr. Swanson, while a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, had been gambling in the stock of the American Tobacco Company, and when Mr. Swanson not only admitted the charge but boldly justified his course, and declared that such purchases on margins by a man in a position of trust as a representative were without the least taint of impropriety, The Times-Dispatch felt compelled to say that in its opinion Mr. Swanson had betrayed a public trust and was unfit to represent Virginia in the Senate or elsewhere.

From July 7 until August 23, The Times-Dispatch withheld all editorial comment on the charge that Senator Martin had been a railroad lobbyist. On August 23 Senator Martin answered these charges and following his public statements, The Times-Dispatch said, in part:

In his speech last night, which is printed in full elsewhere in this paper, Senator Thomas Staples Martin answered all the charges made by the Hon. William A. Jones to the satisfaction of The Times-Dispatch.

The Times-Dispatch has always placed the honor of Virginia and her public servants above all other considerations, and it believes that Mr. Martin's connection with the railroads in 1891, in the light of his explanation now given for the first time, involved then no intentional wrong to the honor, fame or welfare of Virginia.

On the very day that this editorial appeared Mr. Jones received and read further letters written in 1893 and 1895 by Senator Martin, before and after his election, to Mr. W. A. Glasgow, lobbyist-in-chief for the Norfolk and Western Railway.

Though these letters were read at Petersburg on Tuesday, it was not until early Saturday morning that this paper received Senator Martin's comments in reply. From that time until now The Times-Dispatch has carefully considered this matter, and we now offer our final conclusion to the public.

We have no disposition to tear open old wounds. From 1893 until the Constitutional Convention put an end to all fear of negro domination, this paper and its predecessor, The Richmond Times-Dispatch, opposed the use of railroad money in State elections.

Many differed with us then, in approving the use of railroad money as the best means of keeping the State under the control of the Democratic party.

That day has gone. The negroes were kept from the polls by money or otherwise, the Democrats were kept in power and the railroads were "protected." We used the word "protected" advisedly, and it is to the shame of Virginia that we have to use this word at all.

When John S. Barbour and John W. Daniel first undertook to drive out Mahanicism by the use of railroad money, did they make promises to the railroads, did they not only say, "Help us put Virginia in the hands of her white citizens," for nothing can be worse than the negro rule you have at present? To what extent this friendship and association grew in later years is shown by the revelations in this campaign.

It is perfectly intelligible that Senator Martin, who took an active part in raising this money and disbursing it after the death of John S. Barbour, twenty years ago, should see no impropriety in that course.

But The Times-Dispatch cannot let the general tone of Senator Martin's letter to W. A. Glasgow, dated October 23, 1895, reproduced elsewhere on this page, pass unnoticed and uncondemned.

In this letter Senator Martin, then a

member of the United States Senate, says in his appeal for railroad money: "Your friends have always been able to rely on Flood. . . . If he is deserted now, what can be expected of him in the future? I mention him only on account of your familiarity with his legislative course—there are many others of the same sort." In this letter there is no trace of fear of negro domination. The sole compelling motive is fear of demagoguery against the railroads. The sole argument is the advantage of preventing adverse railroad legislation.

It will not do now for Senator Martin to say, as he said at Leesburg, "My letter referring to Messrs. Flood and Parrish was another incident of my work for the maintenance of Democracy and white supremacy."

It does not so appear to us.

In that letter we see a bare and undisguised appeal to a railroad lobbyist to put up railroad money in order that hostile railroad legislation might be prevented. That letter is a bald proposal of barter and sale—there is in it no discussion of principles—and not the slightest reference to negro domination.

To any ordinary man it is just a plain, unvarnished discussion of the way by which a railroad could buy protection and support. That is all there is to it.

For example, what does Senator Martin mean by "WE"? Does he mean the Democratic party when he writes "I do not see how WE can get along"? It is conceivable that WE might mean the white Democrats of Virginia; but if that is true, what does "OUR" friend Breugh mean? Breugh was a man who was nominated on a Lee platform, and who voted for Martin, and in this very election was beaten by a large Republican majority because he betrayed his constituents.

And what does Mr. Martin mean when he says that the "Democrats who desire to be conservative and just to corporate interest will be demoralized" unless the railroads will help a few individual Senators? Does he mean that Democratic principles of conservatism had no firmer foundation than railroad help? Does he mean that the character of the "conservative and just" Democrats was so feeble and their principles so unstable that they, too, would become demagogues if the railroads stopped putting up money? Or does his letter imply that the demands of the so-called radicals were so just that only money could prevent those demands being enacted into law? And who were the "obscure lot" of legislators that Mr. Martin feared? Were they not white Virginians, and would they not have been chosen by the votes of their fellow-citizens?

These are some of the comments that inevitably suggest themselves to the reader of Senator Martin's appeal to Mr. Glasgow.

This letter was written in the heat of a political contest sixteen years ago. At that time Mr. Martin, a newly made Senator, was doubtless and deservedly grateful to Mr. Glasgow, who had done so much toward securing his election. For this reason, and for others, Mr. Martin may have gone to extremes then in helping railroads by secret means that his sober second sense or his conscience would not have tolerated afterwards.

But what do we see? These forgotten letters are suddenly brought to light. After three days, Senator Martin answers them, and what is that answer? In it there is not one word of regret for the lamentable exposure of bargaining between the railroads and a Democratic leader. There is no apology to Virginia, no effort to even smooth over the rough and crude suggestion from a Senator to a lobbyist as to how and where support might be bought.

Here was a man in one of the highest offices in the gift of the State plotting with a railroad how to use money to make sure and fast the railroad grip on the Legislature. And after sixteen years, when confronted with this evidence, that same man finds in it only another proof of patriotic and unselfish service in the cause of white supremacy.

Does Senator Martin maintain that the white Democrats of Virginia at large justified then or would justify now the sort of bargain that his letter offered the Norfolk and Western in exchange for railroad money?

This revelation is the worst criticism that has yet been made against Virginia's leaders.

If our Senator Martin sees nothing wrong in such sentiments, to whom can Virginia look for enlightenment and for guidance?

If the youth of this Commonwealth see such activities applauded and honored with the high office of Senator, with what ideals will they enter the field of politics?

Can Virginia hope for higher standards from her citizens than those she demands from her Senators?

Since Senator Martin approves his letter to Glasgow of October 23, 1895, since he sees nothing to regret in his open advice to a railroad lobbyist to buy the election of friendly legislators, is he fit to represent Virginia today? The Times-Dispatch thinks not.

**HEAVEN AND HELL.**

Beligion is often brought into ridicule because of the hypocrisy of some of the up-to-date ministers. Once in a while some pious holder evinces a nobler theory of the hereafter that cannot be accepted or tolerated. As an instance of this tendency may be mentioned the denunciation of heaven lately given by a preacher in Louisville, Kentucky. According to him the celestial palace is nothing more or less than a huge swimming bath. "In Revelation 21:12," he says, "holy Christians have read where the dimensions of heaven are only 1,400 cubic miles. Immediately they jump at the conclusion that even this space will not accommo-

date the vast multitude of which the Bible speaks. However, calculations will show that this space will accommodate a building 792,000 stories high, and counting rooms of ten cubic feet, the first floor of the structure would have 267,265,000 such rooms. Multiplying this by 792,000, it is easy to demonstrate that such a building would accommodate an innumerable multitude."

Discussion of such a statement is useless. How can there be any material measure of heaven? Who knows that space will mean there what it does here? An effort to describe measure in heaven is like an effort to find a traveler returning from the mysterious bourne of death—impossible.

**SHOULD BE AMENDED.**

The campaign publicity bill lately enacted by Congress contains a joker just discovered. The joker was slipped in by the Senate Committee on Elections. As Senators Kenyon and Kern drew the bill it forced publicity of expenses of both Senators and Representatives. The committee joker relieved Senators of the publicity, although it required their expenditures to be listed and filed. Senators Kenyon and Kern will see that Congress this winter has a chance to amend the act. One-third of all the Senators are candidates for re-election next year, and it ought not to be hard to cut out the joker.

**BY HIS EARS.**

The Upton Sinclair divorce scandal has been widely exploited and a second novel writer has received a lot of perfectly good free advertising. We should hear a deal more about the matter before it is over and done. The Philadelphia Ledger has published what surely is a good pen picture of "the poet in the case" whom it would be ridiculous to call "the man in the case," as no one would call the long-haired artists who constitute America's immoral Bohemia men. Here is the picture:

"He is not a poet as far as looks go—he is rather broad than tall, and a trifle freckled for perfect beauty. He has large, earnest hands and good, honest, faithful, hard-working eyes. He always trumps when things get on his nerves. As he tramps he writes poems and pins them to trees and sings them to the bees. Between poems he sleeps in haystacks and eats fresh apples from the orchards and new loaves from the fields. When the cosmos looks right to him again he goes back to Lawrence and plows and chops wood. He says he never was in love with any one and he acts the part."

This clears the matter very much. Anybody with ears like that ought to be easily classified. By his ears ye shall know him.

A St. Louis millionaire named McMillan is going to present that city with a dik-dik. Cannot some one in Richmond in similar circumstances present the city with a kirrak-dik?

Congressman Berger, the sole Socialist in the National Legislature, thus defines a progressive in politics:

"An insurgent is 50 per cent. of old, disgruntled politician, 30 per cent. clear hypocrit, 9 per cent. nothing and 1 per cent. Socialism. Put in a bottle and shake well before using, and you will have a so-called 'progressive.'"

That's pretty hard from a man in La Follette's own State.

Vardaman, of Mississippi, exceeds the limit of vituperation. In a late issue of his paper he refers to his enemies as "wolves," "hyenas," "ghouls," "vultures," "h—l-born," "refuse of h—l."

Mrs. Tilley, of Lawrenceburg, Pennsylvania, waited breakfast on her husband thirty-seven minutes by the clock, and then Dr. Tilley, the husband, came down and said that the coffee was sloppy. That was more than the lady could stand, and so she has applied for a divorce on the ground of extreme cruelty.

As far as you have in mind to relegate to political oblivion him who has put

**Voice of the People**

Mr. Montague Replies.

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch: Sir—In your issue of September 4 you print a card signed "Militia Voter," in which it is stated that I failed to support certain amendments offered to the militia appropriation bill in the Legislature of 1905.

The facts are as follows: A bill approved by the Military Board of Virginia, and actively supported by General C. C. Vaughan, Jr., commander of the Virginia military, and General Charles J. Anderson, then Adjutant-General, was offered and referred to the appropriate committee. I was not a member of that committee, and while the bill was pending before the committee one or two amendments were offered to same, providing for a separate fund to maintain military fund and support of the United States government for the artillery service. On behalf of the Military Board it was argued that it would not be proper to create a separate fund, and it was stated that the military fund would be distributed equitably and justly among all branches of the military of Virginia by the Military Board. These amendments being defeated in the committee, the bill as approved by the Military Board was reported to the House of Delegates, and I voted for it. These amendments had nothing to do with the Richmond Light Infantry Blues mentioned in the card of "Militia Voter." As a matter of fact, a good many years ago I was an active member of the Richmond Light Infantry Blues, and for at least fifteen years have been a contributing member of its association. While General Vaughan was not a Richmond voter, General Anderson was, and still is, although he is not now Adjutant-General.

The fact that "Militia Voter" states that the Military Board has since proposed the desired fund out of the appropriation made by the Legislature demonstrates that I was correct in voting for the bill as supported by the Military Board, and that their promise to treat all branches of the military equitably and justly has been carried out. HILL MONTAGUE.

Richmond.

**The Engine Driven.**

He bendeth to his levers like a belted knight.  
With couched lance in rest and harness bright;  
He trusteth in his God, and his good steady hand,  
There is no fitter man in all the land—  
With a trumpeting roar and a thund'ring rhythm,  
Rhythm, rhythm, rhythm—  
The song of the steam, with a runic rhyme,  
In time, time, time.

A Knight in panoply, doth ride his right good steed  
For King and beautiful Lady-love—at speed;  
For Duty and his Home our Knight doth much resemble,  
Driving the mighty Engine through the hills a-tremble—  
With glowing smoke, and a guttural roar,  
Steam, team steam—  
Emblem of Energy, prophet of Power—  
Power, power, power.

His armor is his Faith, Manhood is his sword,  
The spurs of Knighthood in his golden word,  
Hope is in his heart and Love is in his heart—  
A proper man of Destiny a part—  
With a trumpeting roar, and a thund'rous rush.

Hush, hush hush—  
A panoply of progress—a lyric of Life,  
Life, life, life.  
EDMOND FONTAINE.

Charlottesville.

**State Politics.**

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch: Sir—It has been exceedingly gratifying to many of your subscribers and others that you have come over partly on the side of right and declared your opinion as against sending Mr. Swanson back to the United States Senate, making a most serious charge against him briefly and to the point, the charge first being brought by Carter Glass and later admitted by Senator Swanson to be true, but in his confession to the wrong he attempted to minimize the enormity of it by pretense of the innocence of such transactions for representatives of the people.

It is a pleasure to thank you for going as far as you have in aiding to relegate to political oblivion him who has put

himself in position to profit pecuniarily through the positions of trust that he holds from the people, and who apparently has benefited thereby. But there is much more of gratitude to be expressed, as soon as you come out against Senator Martin for a violation of a trust the people have conferred on him in his tariff votes, but more particularly in his violation of principle in aiding the railroads to get control of the Legislature when the Kent bill was defeated, and through the Legislature very many of the judiciary, and later denying he had ever acted for the railroads as a lobbyist, with or without pay, perhaps forgetting that if he received no immediate financial benefit, he very soon after was sent to the United States Senate through railroad influence.

If Senator Martin does not explain his delinquencies, as shown by the Monday night's speech, you would really confer a great favor on Swanson, who are seeking the truth to explain these letters away or to come out on the side of the Jones-Glass forces.

If Martin does not satisfactorily explain and yet do not, may our conclusion be that your attack on Swanson, which is entirely justified so far as the charge itself is concerned, may be attributable to some reason that we do not understand, or some reason other than patriotism.

In recent weeks, as far as editorial expressions of your paper are concerned, as far as I have noted them, there has been no strong reason to believe that you are very warm for Mr. Martin, but when I see the name of your managing editor on the list of vice-presidents who are to appear on the stage in the Martin meeting Monday night, it appears justifiable in asking why you are against Senator Swanson on moral grounds and not against Senator Martin on the same grounds?

Now, as to the prophet Balaam from Roanoke, who is filling the space of one column daily in one of the Richmond papers, the wonder is why he employed so much earlier than he was needed; or, if he is volunteering, as he claims, why is he wasting so much space of the paper he is writing for, and why is that paper permitting him to waste the time of its readers in pursuing his useless vaporing, efforts to fill the space which has been allotted him? Much was promised and is promised from day to day, and as not much of anything has come out yet, we will expect very much for the closing days of the campaign, but the danger is that before we get to read matter the pleasures of anticipation will pall and we will all stop reading them.

He couldn't have just as well remained in Roanoke, where it is hard to believe he could be spared so long, and described the gentlemen he has abused so roundly, first plastering them over with nice compliments? Why couldn't he have just as well established the fact that he is part actor and part saint there as in Richmond, and why couldn't he as well there as in Richmond parade before the public the clean history of the Williams, when no one, so far as I have seen, has been able to do so.

Why couldn't he have just as well written up his history and his own, informing us that none of them has ever been mixed in a crooked or dubious transaction, may I ask if he claims any money power came to Gloucester, who some years ago was arrested and possibly tried and possibly whitewashed for some irregular election transaction? C. E. JONES.

**Mr. Jones's View.**

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch: Sir—During the State campaign prior to Gen. Fitz Lee's defeat by Mr. Martin for the Senate, an agent of some money power came to Gloucester from Richmond and approached our Democratic candidate for the Legislature with the offer of as much as \$500 for his campaign. I would vote for Martin for the Senate. Our candidate (a fine Confederate vet) declined with indignation, and told him that Fitz Lee is a candidate all the money in Richmond could not keep me from voting for him. Our candidate was elected without this yellow dog fund, and did vote for Lee. If the money power agent came to this county it is more than likely they sent agents on a like errand to other counties. They found a true, noble man here; they did not find them everywhere. The former case is history repeating itself. Our candidate all the money in Richmond could not keep me from voting for him. Our candidate was elected without this yellow dog fund, and did vote for Lee. 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